

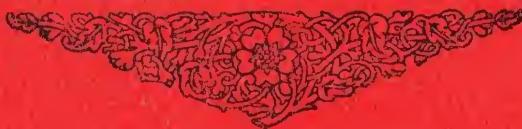
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SOCIALISM

Education • • • Organization



The Red Book



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The Red Book



For Education and Organization

BY

IRA C. TILTON



A STUDY COURSE FOR PARTY MEMBERS AND
LOCALS, DESIGNED TO STRENGTHEN THE
ORGANIZATION THROUGH EDUCATION OF
THE MEMBERSHIP, UPON WHOSE FITNESS
AND QUALIFICATIONS ALL REAL PROGRESS
MUST DEPEND. * * * * *



ISSUED BY

The Socialist Party of Pennsylvania

"In every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of economic production and exchange, and the social organization necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch."—Communist Manifesto.



"In the social production which men carry on, they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society—the real foundation, on which rise legal and political superstructures, and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political, and spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but, on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness . . . No social order ever disappears before all the productive forces, for which there is room in it, have been developed; and new higher relations never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of the old society."—Marx.



"We are not going to attain Socialism at one bound. The transition is going on all the time, and the important thing for us, is not to paint a picture of the future—which in any case would be useless labor—but to forecast a practical program for the immediate period to formulate and justify measures that shall serve as aids to the new Socialist birth."—Liebknecht.

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this booklet is to provide a comprehensive, systematic plan of attack on capitalism.

To enable every Socialist to acquire sufficient knowledge of the principles and aims of Socialism; to fortify himself against the political chicanery and strategy of the ruling class, by which they have hitherto kept the workers divided into warring factions. To marshal the reasons for his belief clearly and land telling blows for the emancipation of his class.

To classify the knowledge and solidify the membership of the Socialist Party into an aggressive, militant working force, that will constantly build for Socialism and keep it ever at the retreating heels of capitalism.

The lesson subjects are selected from and follow the logic of the 1912 Socialist Platform as nearly as possible.

The Platform is arranged for ready reference and every Socialist should study it thoroughly and be able to quote from it freely.

The questions, suggestions and references will enable branches in the most rural districts to discuss each subject in the light of the foremost Socialist thought. To miss a meeting will be like missing a chapter in a continued story.

The selection of the subjects and the study helps represent much time and effort in preparation and are intended especially to help those who have neither time nor opportunity to make an extended research for themselves.

The general references are intended to be of some value to students who have access to libraries. It is suggested that where a library is accessible, the branch should elect members to make special preparation on advanced subjects and make a report from the general references, and others that may be found.

The special references should be noted carefully by every member, as nearly every Socialist will have some of these books and can prepare to take part in the discussions.

It is generally agreed that healthy informed minds think alike just as nearly as healthy eyes see alike.

Information—Education—then, is the ammunition that will blow this infernal capitalist system to—the—ocean—and establish Socialism on the earth.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

1. Call to order by Organizer or Secretary or any member in good standing.
2. Election of Chairman.
3. Reading of Minutes.
4. Correction and Approval of Minutes.
5. Discussion of Lesson Subject. (The lesson period should be confined to as near one hour as possible).
6. Application of Members.
7. Voting on Members.
8. Communications and Bills.
9. Reports of Officers.
10. Reports of Committees.
11. Unfinished Business.
12. New Business.
13. Adjournment.

Note: It is suggested that each branch should elect an executive committee of three or five members to which all communications and bills should be presented by the Secretary. The duty of this committee should be to pass on each bill and each communication as favorable or not favorable. It may also, by using some discretion save the organization the time required to listen to the reading of communications that are of no value or interest to the membership. The Secretary should present the bills and communications to the branch after they have been passed upon by the executive committee. Some member can make a motion that the report of the committee be accepted, etc. This plan has been tried by several branches and has proven satisfactory. It saves the time which is essential to make the study plan a success.

TIMELY SUGGESTIONS

A Socialist local is an educational institution in the great school of Socialism charged with the work of educating the people in the community where the local is organized.

The strength of a local depends on the character and intelligence of its members. A local with only a few members who know what Socialism is and who work faithfully and constantly for results, will be permanent and grow; but a local composed of many members, none of whom understand the fundamental principles of Socialism, most of whom are ignorant and indifferent to party affairs, and divided into warring factions is a weak local and almost sure to die.

No branch can have successful regular meetings without a regular time and place to meet. The hour should be as near suitable to all concerned as possible and every member should be on time, and start the meeting on time. The train to the Co-Operative Commonwealth is always on time and all stragglers are sure to miss it. A regular time to adjourn is also important as long drawn out meetings become tiresome and will cause some members to stay away.

Every branch should provide itself with a library and take special pains to make the meeting place inviting by keeping it clean and by placing some nice pictures and mottoes on the walls.

No branch can be at its best without the women. Every man should pledge himself to make the same effort to win his wife to Socialism that he once made to win her, and then take the same pride in escorting her to the branch meeting that he once took in taking her to the show or the country spelling school.

Socials and friendly relations among members are always helpful and tend to unify the organization.

Special pains should be taken to get new members and keep them by means of a hearty welcome and plenty of good warm fellowship.

Visitors should always be warmly greeted and invited to come again.

If every Socialist was like you how fast our party would grow.

Every branch should provide its library with copies of the Socialist Campaign Book, 1912, National Socialist Headquarters, 111 North Market Street, Chicago, and American Socialism of the Present Day, by Hughan, John Lane Co., New York.

PARLIAMENTARY RULES

1. What are Parliamentary Rules?
Regulations under which a body of persons mutually agree to transact business.
2. Are Parliamentary Rules necessary? Yes.
3. Should they be closely followed? Yes.
4. May rules be changed?
Yes, by majority vote of members of the branch.
5. When Rules are violated whose duty is it to take notice thereof?
Any member has the right to rise and say, "Comrade Chairman, I rise to a point of order."
6. What is the Chairman's duty under such conditions?
His duty is to enforce the rules without debate or delay.
7. May a rule be suspended by general consent?
Yes, if no member objects.
8. Who are intended to take part in the business transactions of a Socialist meeting?
Those who have their credentials.
9. What are Credentials?
A Socialist's credential is his membership card showing him to be a member of the branch and in good standing in the Socialist Party.
10. How may a branch meeting protect itself against disorderly conduct?
By employing sufficient force to remove disorderly persons from the meeting.
11. What authority is there for employing such force?
The Constitution of the United States.
12. What is a quorum?
A sufficient number to do business. The Socialist Party Constitution requires that at least five members shall be present.

13. **What are the duties of a Chairman?**

To preside over the meeting, receive and submit all proper motions and propositions offered by the members. To enforce order and restrain members, when engaged in debate, from violation of the rules of courtesy. To decide all points of order when called upon to do so. He should obey the commands of the members but not allow them to unnecessarily delay the progress of the meeting.

He should give the closest attention to the proceedings of the meeting, and especially to what is said by the speakers. By so doing confusion will be prevented, offensive language checked and harmony assured. His attention, interest and impartial acts will inspire confidence, create union of feeling, and impress upon each member the necessity of transacting business for the benefit of all.

14. **What are the rights and duties of the members?**

Their rights are equal. Each is entitled to the respect of all other members while debating or recommending a proposition. Each member should act the part of a gentleman in manners and language and refrain from unnecessary noise and confusion.

15. **What are motions or questions?**

Any proposition introduced by a member for the action of the meeting, but all motions must be seconded by another member.

16. **While one motion is before the meeting can another be made and acted upon?**

No, except motions to adjourn, lay on the table, previous question, to amend or to postpone. The motions have precedence in the order named.

17. **What is the previous question?**

A motion to suppress, debate and bring the question to a vote or remove it entirely.

18. **How shall it be made?**

Any member may rise and say, "Comrade Chairman, I move the previous question."

19. **How shall the chair proceed when the previous question is moved?**

If it receives a second he shall put the previous question without allowing debate. If the previous question is lost, the question under debate is lost. If it is carried,

the question under debate is immediately, and without debate, voted upon.

20. **When should the previous question be used?**

Only when a debate is being drawn out too long. A Socialist will never use it to gain an unfair advantage.

21. **Is a motion to lay on the table debatable? No.**

22. **What are motions to amend?**

An amendment is a proposition to include some point which is not contained in the principal motion.

23. **May an amendment be amended?**

Yes, but no further amendments can be made.

24. **When a motion or amendment has been amended how shall the chair proceed to take the vote?**

He shall put the amendment to the amendment first; then the amendment and last the original motion as amended.

25. **Is a motion to adjourn always in order?**

Usually, but there are exceptions, i. e., when a vote is being taken or a member is speaking it is not in order.

26. **Can a motion to adjourn be amended?**

Yes, if it is made when there is no other business before the meeting.

27. **How should the business be brought before the branch?**
In its regular order.

28. **What are the general rules in regard to speaking?**

No member should speak more than once on the same question without permission of the branch. He should refrain from being personal in his remarks or indecent in language. He should express his point of argument clearly and speak to the subject.

29. **Can a speaker be interrupted in his speech by another member?**

No, except on a question of privilege or on questions upon which the branch ought to have instant information—such as obstructing the passageway to the hall, a quarrel between members, adjustment of lights, ventilation, etc. As soon as the cause for interruption has been adjusted the speaker should proceed.

30. What is a question of privilege?

Questions concerning the rights of the branch or of its individual members. Question of privilege supersedes the question pending and must be disposed of after which the question interrupted is to be resumed at the point where it was suspended.

31. What is an appeal from the decision of the chair?

When the decision of the presiding officer is not satisfactory, any member may object to it, and have the question decided by the branch. Such a question is debatable in which the chairman is entitled to take part and must be decided by majority vote of the members present.

32. If a speaker yields the floor to another has he the right to the floor after the one to whom he yielded has completed?

No. In yielding the floor he relinquishes it altogether.

33. If a speaker uses personal offensive language, how may his misconduct be checked?

By a member rising and calling him to order. It is then the duty of the chairman to decide whether the objecting member's point is well taken or not.

Note—The above questions and answers are intended as a brief guide only for the successful conduct of branch meetings. They are based on Robert's Rules of Order, however, which when necessary should be consulted on points that we have not included.

It is important that every Socialist have some knowledge of Parliamentary Laws. It should be noted, also, that a popular member and speaker is one who keeps quiet unless he has something new and important to say. He always comes directly to the point and when he has said enough, stops. He does not antagonize unnecessarily; does not exhibit too much fervor, but is always keen and never lacking in spirit. He is not too forward but never allows the proceedings to drag for want of a motion or a second when they are needed. He is not too exacting about the strict enforcement of rules, but inspires confidence in his own knowledge by always being in order himself.

1.

MARXIAN OR SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

Sub Topics:

1. Definition of Socialism.
2. The Cardinal Points of Socialism.
 - (a) Economic Determinism.
 - (b) The Class Struggle.
 - (c) The Inevitable Breakdown of Capitalism.
3. The Theory of Surplus Value.
4. The Theory of Crisis.

Questions:

1. Is the theory of surplus value to be regarded as an essential part of Socialism?
2. If the economic interpretation of history is sound, the doctrine of the class struggle valid, and the breakdown of capitalism inevitable, why is Socialism a present political issue?
3. What are the Marxian weapons?
4. Was Marx in any sense an opportunist?

Suggestions—This lesson should be thoroughly studied and frequently reviewed throughout the entire year.

Special References—Communist Manifesto; Socialism, What It Is (Liebknecht), Science and Socialism (La-Monte), Value, Price and Profit (Marx), Socialism Utopian and Scientific (Engles), American Socialism of the Present Day (Hughan, chap. 2), Socialism, Revolution and Internationalism (Deville).

General References—Socialism (Spargo), Contributions to Critique of Political Economy (Marx), Land Marks of Scientific Socialism (Engels), Modern Socialism (Ensor).

2.

SOCIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES

Sub Topics:

1. The Socialist Labor Party.
2. Social Democratic Party.
3. The Inception of the Socialist Party.
4. The growth and biennial vote of the Socialist party.

Questions:

1. Where did the Social Democrat Party originate and when was it transformed into the Socialist Party?
2. Name several of the foremost American Socialists.
3. Name the leading Socialist papers and magazines.
4. What grounds are there for the assertion that there are two kinds of Socialists, Marxian or revolutionists, and revisionists or opportunists?

Suggestion:—Some one of the older members should be called upon to relate his experience with and his knowledge of the history of the labor movement in general. The experiences of the Socialist Labor Party with Anarchy should be related by some former S. L. P. member.

Special References:—Socialists, Who They Are and What They Stand For (Spargo), American Socialism of the Present Day (Hughan, chap. 2), Campaign Book (pp. 34 and 35).

General References:—Socialism in America (Hillquit), History of Socialism (Kirkup), Socialism and the Social Movement in the Nineteenth Century (Sombart), Collectivism (Vandervelde).

3.

SOCIALIST INDICTMENT OF CAPITALISM

Sub Topics:

1. Tyranny.
2. Inequality.
3. Unjust laws.
4. Inherited Mastery and Servitude.

"The possession of the means of livelihood gives to the capitalists the control of the government, the press, the pulpit, and the schools, and enables them to reduce the workingmen to a state of intellectual, physical and social inferiority, political subservience and virtual slavery."—National Platform of Socialist Party—1901.

Questions:

1. What is Capitalism?
2. The system which allows a number of the people to own the earth, the tools, buildings, machines, factories, railroads and other means of transportation, production and travel, and thus take from the worker what he produces."
3. To what relation must all workers submit in order to work?
4. Are some born to serve others?
5. What are the effects of dependence and subordination upon the workers?

Suggestion:—Commit to memory Platform, Exposition, A.

Special References:—Socialism for Students (Cohen, Chap. 11), Packingtown (Simons).

General References:—People of the Abyss (London), Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, May 1904.

4.

HISTORICAL FUNCTION OF CAPITALISM

Sub Topics:

1. Discovery and exploration of America and other continents.
2. Commerce and building of cities.
3. Machinery and collective production.
4. Economic Determinism the key to human history.

Questions:

1. How long has capitalism existed?
2. Is it usual for Socialists to recognize the good that capitalism has accomplished?
3. Vail says, "At first the interests of the capitalists were in accord with social progress, but that time has long since passed." Explain this statement.
4. At what time in this country were the interests of the capitalist in accord with the progress of society?
5. What events caused the interests of the capitalists to not be in accord with social progress?
6. That production is social and exchange of the product on a private ownership basis is considered by Socialists as the fundamental contradiction in capitalism. What two classes does this contradiction produce?
7. Are both Socialists and capitalists actuated by material interests?
8. Is the breakdown of capitalism inevitable? Give reasons for your answer.
9. Is "brotherhood" a vital living truth in the church that upholds capitalism?

Suggestion:—Read Exposition A. See platform in this book, page 63 and study the quotation from Marx in this book, page 2.

Special Reference:—The Socialist Movement (Vail, pp, 17-28).

5.

EVILS INHERENT IN CAPITALISM

Sub Topics:

1. The Environment of Capitalism.
2. The Source of Thought and Action.
3. Heredity.

Questions:

1. Capitalism has created an environment that breeds disease and culminates in death. Should we lay any blame of individual failure, mental deformity, or immorality upon the suffering victims themselves?
2. Which is the most influential factor in the life history of man, heredity or environment?
3. Why not dispose of heredity by calling it accumulated environment?
4. Does the Marxian doctrine contradict the doctrine of free will?

Suggestions:—The evils of capitalism as enumerated in the Platform are treated in following lessons in the light of facts, but the light of Socialism must be gleaned from this lesson. It should be studied, therefore, and discussed at some length. Note carefully the following quotation from Bellamy: "Life itself and everything that meanwhile makes life worth living, from the satisfaction of the most primary needs to the satisfaction of the most refined tastes all that belongs to the development of the mind as well as the body, depends first, last and always, on the manner in which the production and distribution of wealth is regulated."

Special References:—Criminology, Crimes and Criminals (Slayton). Ten Blind Leaders of the Blind (Lewis), Human All Too Human (Nietzsche).

General References:—Not Guilty (Blatchford), Economic Foundations of Society (Loria).

6.

CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH

The following selections from the Campaign Book beginning on page 123 should be read to the branch.

1. The concentration of wealth into a few hands (Spargo).
2. America ruled by a handful of men (La Follette).
3. Jeff Davis in Congressional Record (1907).
4. Concentration in the Ownership of Natural Resources.

Questions:

1. If either the biblical or scientific account be accepted, to whom does the earth belong?
2. To whom did Lincoln say this country and the things in it belonged?
3. By whose authority and consent do the capitalists hold their titles?
4. By and through what human institutions do titles to wealth come?
5. Who or what is the Government?
6. Could a society exist without a government?
7. What is the source of all wealth?
8. To what extent is capital the product of skill and thrift?

Suggestions:—Read Platform, Exposition C, 3, and recall the business men of your acquaintance who have been driven into the ranks of the propertyless wage workers. Recall if you can the number of small store buildings for rent in your city.

Special References:—Passing of Capitalism and the Mission of Socialism (Ladoff), Socialism and Superior Brains (Shaw).

General References:—History of the Great American Fortunes (Meyers), Stories of the Great Railroads (Russell).

7.

MILITARISM

Sub Topics:

1. The Cost of War.
2. Economic Causes of War.
3. Socialists Prevent War.
4. Dick Military Law.
5. War—What For?
6. The Boy Scout Movement.

Questions:

1. What appropriations were made for the army and navy in 1910?
2. What is the annual loss to the nation through militarism?
3. Are there any wars in progress now? If so, where; and what are the causes?
4. Is your branch doing anything to prevent war?

Suggestions:—Some good reader should read "War and Militarism" (Kirkpatrick)—See Campaign Book p. 240.

"Till the war-drum throbs no longer, and the battle flags are furled,
In the Parliament of man, the federation of the world"—(Tennyson).

Compare this vision to the bible, Deutronomy, Chapter 20, verses 10-17.

Special References:—War—What For? (Kirkpatrick), Props to Capitalism (Slayton), Boy Scouts of America (Official Hand Book).

Note: \$330,000,000 for War (Taft Budget for 1913).

General References:—The Future of War (Block), The Blood of the Nation (Jordan).

8.

POVERTY

Sub Topics:

1. Poverty and Providence.
2. Poverty and Natural Law.
3. Poverty and the Individual.
4. Poverty and Society.
5. The Remedy for Poverty.
6. Pauperism.

Questions:

1. What is the law of population?
Ans. Population tends to increase more rapidly than the production of food.
2. How much truth is there in the law of population today?
3. What has morality to do with poverty?
4. Are some men indebted to poverty for their greatness? eg. Lincoln.
5. Should we feed tramps?
6. Do the large gifts of the rich, and charitable institutions tend to reduce poverty?
7. Is there any difference between poverty and pauperism?
8. Can a man become wealthy by his own personal toil?

Special References:—Campaign Book (pp. 204-205), The Struggle for Existence (Mills, chap. 27).

General References:—Problems of Poverty (Hobson), Poverty, Its Genesis and Exodus (Godard), Life and Work of Malthus (Bonar), Population and the Social System (Nitti).

9.

SLUMS

Sub Topics:

1. Over crowding.
2. Immorality.
3. Effect on Citizenship.
4. Effect on Society.
5. The Junior Republic, Founded by Wm. George 1896.

Questions:

1. What were the slums like in our fathers' days? Compare them with the slums of today.
2. Is it possible to eradicate the slums from large cities?
3. Is tuberculosis a product of the slums?
4. Are both slums and tuberculosis a product of capitalism?
5. Experts say, that the baby of the tenement is born physically equal to the baby of the mansion.. Compare this statement with your own observations.

Suggestion:—Have some one read the selection under "Over Crowding" from Campaign Book page 207.

Special References:—Should Socialism be Crushed? (Work p 24). Not Guilty (Blatchford, pp. 150-162), Socialism for Students (Cohen, chap. II), American Pauperism and the abolition of Poverty (Ladoff).

General References:—How the Other Half Lives (Riis), Poverty (Hunter), Reports of the Tenement House Commission in New York, Underfed School Children (Spargo), Business the Heart of the Nation, (Chap. VII, Russell).

10.

CHILD LABOR

Sub Topics:

1. Child Labor in the coal "Breakers."
2. Child Labor in the Mills.
3. Newsboys.
4. Night Messengers.
5. Child Labor Legislation.

"The tissues of the boys' lungs gather the black specks until the whole lung is discolored, and I have seen boys who have been away from the breakers and mines for eight and even ten years cough up these particles whenever they were attacked by a slight cold."—Lovejoy.

"I deplore this business as much as you," a silk mill owner once said, "but I am a part of a great industrial system, and so long as the system exists I must run my mills as other mills are run."

Questions:

1. Is what the mill owner said true?
2. Does the law in your state fix the age limit for child labor? Is the law obeyed?

Suggestion:—Pages 176-180, Campaign Book, should be read to the branch by some member who can read well.

Special Reference:—Campaign Book.

General References:—Bitter Cry of the Children (Spargo). Children of the Tenements (Riis).

Note: 1,750,178 children between the age of 10 and 15 were employed in the United States in 1910.

11.

CRIME AND DISEASE

Sub Topics:

1. The Definition of Crime.
2. The Punishment of Crime.
3. Crime and the Government.
4. The Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Criminals.

Questions:

1. Distinguish between crime and vice.
Crime is disobedience of the laws of man. Vice is disobedience of the laws of nature.
2. According to the above distinction are all crimes to be considered "bad acts"?
3. Are some crimes "good acts"?
4. Is actual crime a disease?
5. Arrange the following causes of crime according, in your judgment, to the percentage of criminals produced by each: Bad company, drink, poverty, temper, lack of principle, mental incapacity.
6. Define: Misdemeanor, felony, treason, murder, arson.

Suggestion:—It should be emphasized throughout the discussion that capitalism is a machine for the automatic production of both crime and disease.

Special References:—Dictionary, any book on Civil Government, Criminology, Crimes and Criminals (Slayton).

General References:—Positive School of Criminology (Ferri), Not Guilty (Blatchford),

12. THE SOCIAL EVIL

Sub Topics:

1. Dominance of Men and Dependence of Women
2. Enforced Celibacy.
3. Prostitution.
 - (a) Extent in United States.
 - (b) Economic Causes.
 - (c) Solution.
4. White Slave Traffic.
5. Venereal Diseases.

Questions:

1. Is the dress of women intended to be seductive?
2. Discuss the bible story of Tamar.
3. Did law or religion ever command prostitution?
4. "He" towns and "she" towns are profitable, to whom?
5. Is it true, "men send girls to the bad, but women keep them there?"
6. Is it natural that some radiantly beautiful women should find pleasure in shame?
7. Discuss the following: Prostitution is a competitive business like all business. Its dealers, like all dealers, must make the business attractive, must struggle for the largest market; for the highest prices. Must obtain supply of goods—our girls; must stimulate the demand for the goods—our boys. Must lower the price of stale goods, and sweep into the alley the unsalable.

Suggestion:—"Prudery" and "false modesty" should be banished in both the study and discussion of this lesson.

Special References:—The Social Evil (Greer), Campaign Book pp. 228-230, The Bible, Genesis 38.

General References:—History of Prostitution (Sanger) Woman and Socialism (Bebel, Chap. XII).

13. SOCIAL WASTE

Sub Topics:

1. Advertising.
2. Traveling Men.
3. Changes of Fashion.
4. Wasted by-products.
5. Duplication of Plants, Parallel Lines of Railroads, etc.
6. Strikes and Lockouts.
7. Panics.
8. Unemployment, Underemployment, Overemployment, Unnecessary Employment.
9. Waste of Human Life.
10. Waste of Natural Resources; Coal, Timber, Water, Power, Land, etc.

Questions:

1. Will advertising be necessary under Socialism?
2. Will the fashions change so often under Socialism? Why?
3. What good may result from change of fashions?

Suggestions:—It should be noted throughout the discussion that most of this waste is unavoidable under capitalism.

That the great problem before us is one of institutions rather than of men.

Special References:—Campaign Book (pp. 220-222), Socialism and Social Reform (Part II, Chap. 2, Ely), Merrie England (Blachford, chap. 10).

General References:—What Communities loose by the Competitive System (London, Cosmopolitan Magazine, Nov. 1900).

14.

THE SOCIALIST INDICTMENT OF THE OLD PARTIES

Sub Topics:

1. Professional Politicians.
2. Rivalry for Public Office.
3. Non-Principle of Old Parties.
4. Instruments of Oppression.
5. The Peoples' Worst Enemy. Why?
6. Corruption in Politics.

Questions:

1. Are the issues upon which the old parties make their campaign of particular importance to the workers?
2. Would either of the old parties dare to offer a true solution for the problem of the wage worker, or the high cost of living? Why?
3. Does the Progressive Party offer any solution for these problems in its platform, or does it dodge them like the two old parties?
4. Has anything been gained for the workers by anti-trust laws, railroad regulations and government investigations?
5. Why will an old party politician pay so much for a public office?
6. Distinguish between a politician and a statesman.
7. Discuss Roosevelt as a politician and Lincoln as a Statesman.

Suggestion:—Read Exposition D, of the Platform.

References:—Campaign Book Part II; also, Campaign Book pp. 262-263.

15.

THE COURTS

Sub Topics:

1. Federal Courts.
 - (a) Supreme Court.
 - (b) District Courts.
 - (c) Circuit Courts.
 - (d) Circuit Courts of Appeal.
2. Special Courts.
 - (a) Court of Claims.
 - (b) Territorial Courts.
 - (c) Court of the District of Columbia.
 - (d) Consular Courts.
3. State Courts.
 - (a) Supreme Court.
 - (b) Intermediate Courts of Appeal.
 - (c) Circuit or District Court.
 - (d) The Justice's Court.

Questions:

1. In what relation does the State judiciary stand to the Federal judiciary?
2. Examine the Constitution of this state and give the names of the several grades of courts beginning with the lowest.
3. What is the attitude of the Socialist Party toward the federal courts?

Suggestion:—This lesson should be thoroughly studies from some book on Civil Government. Any school text will do.

The courts have become our foremost enemy and every Socialist should know their construction.

Note: Our Platform is in error in calling the power of the Supreme Court to pass upon the Constitutionality of legislation enacted by Congress "usurped power."

References:—Constitution of the United States Article III, The U. S. Constitution a Class Document (Slayton), The American Judiciary (Baldwin) History of the Supreme Court (Meyers).

16. INJUNCTIONS

Sub Topics:

1. Definition of Injunction.

An injunction is a writ issued by a Judge in a Court of Equity forbidding a person to do, or commanding him to do, a certain thing.

2. Development of the Use of Injunctions.

3. The Star Chamber.

4. The Danger of Injunction.

Questions:

1. What are the three classes of injunctions according to Judge Seabury?

2. When was the injunction first used in labor disputes?

3. How and on what principle was Justice Malins repudiated?

4. What is a "blanket" injunction?

5. Why is Taft sometimes called "Injunction Bill"?

6. Tell about the Pullman Strike.

Suggestions:—Pages 191 to 199 of the Campaign Book furnish all the needed information for this subject. Personal experience of some of the older members with courts and injunctions will add much interest and useful information. Personal, first hand knowledge is always best and should be drawn on whenever and wherever possible.

17. THE SOCIALIST DECLARATION

Sub Topics:

1. Socialists Declare:

(a) Capitalism is an out-grown system.

(b) Capitalism has become corrupt and incompetent.

(c) The present social ills are the product of Capitalism.

(d) We can endure these ills no longer.

(e) Socialism is the only relief.

(f) The worker shall have the social value of the wealth he creates.

2. Socialism as the Inevitable Outcome of Evolution.

Questions:

1. What is the difference between the Socialist and the Social reformer?

2. Is there any difference between "constructive" Socialism" and "Social Reform"?

3. Is there an authorized declaration of the ideal Socialist State?

4. Do you think Socialism is inevitable?

5. Do you think anything is inevitable that depends on human choice?

6. Do you think capitalism is near its end?

7. Is it a common criticism that Socialists do not agree among themselves? If so, why?

Suggestions:—This lesson is intended to draw out the individuality and personal opinions of the members and lead to a full discussion and criticism of the official attitude of the Socialist Party as set forth in the Exposition of the Platform. The Exposition should be read and studied until it becomes thoroughly familiar.

References:—Critique of Political Economy, p. 12-13 (Marx), Socialism, (p. 211 Spargo).

THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Sub Topics:

1. The Economic Class Struggle.
 - (a) Theory of Surplus Value.
2. The Political Class Struggle.
 - (a) Economic Interpretation of History.

The Class Struggle is a logical and necessary consequence of both the "Theory of History" and "Surplus Value," but the student will recognize that there is nothing in common between them except that Marx is the author of both. They may stand or fall separately. Marx wrote "Capital" several years after the "Communist Manifesto" as a contribution, or a support to his Theory of History.

Questions:

1. What is meant by the term "Class Struggle."
2. Is the doctrine of the class struggle essential to the American Socialist Movement?
3. Is it universally accepted among party members?
4. What is meant by the term "Class Conscious?"
5. Does class consciousness mean class hatred?
6. Read from the application card for membership in the Socialist Party the formula to which every member must subscribe his name.

Suggestion:—The question of "tactics" should be discussed in connection with this subject. It is the contention of some Socialists that too much stress on the "Class Struggle" is a poor way to approach non-Socialists.

Special References:—American Socialism of the Present Day (Hughan, chap. V), The Platform, Exposition C.

General References:—Class Struggle in America (Simons), The Class Struggle (Kautsky).

POLITICAL PARTIES

Sub Topics:

1. The Nomination of Candidates.
2. The Development of Party Organization.
3. Permanent Party Organization.
4. Party Conventions.
5. The Presidential Campaign.
6. The Election of the President.

Questions:

1. Are political parties necessary?
2. Is there a primary law in this State?
3. Describe the organization of the Democratic Party.
4. How is the Progressive Party organized.
5. How are candidates for President nominated?
6. How are Presidents elected?
7. How many electoral votes has this State?
8. What Presidents were elected by Congress?
9. Show how it is possible for a President to be elected without receiving a majority of the votes cast.
10. Show that it is possible for a single vote at the polls to decide a presidential contest.

Suggestions:—This lesson is to emphasize the careful organization of the capitalist parties. The knowledge necessary for complete discussion should be familiar to every Socialist, for without it we cannot hope to cope with these parties or defeat them at the polls.

References:—Government by the People (Fuller pp. 34-78), The American Commonwealth (Bryce), Party Organization and Machinery (Macy).

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

Sub Topics:

1. Different from All Other Parties.
2. The Chief Dangers.
3. Safe Guards.
4. Controversies.
5. Future Outlook.

Questions:

1. Why do the Socialists organize themselves into a political party to solve an economic question?

Ans. The government is the head of a human society and directs and coerces the members of society the same as the brain is the head of the human body and directs and disciplines its members. Whatever dominates the head, dominates the body. The only way, then, to destroy economic privilege and establish Industrial Democracy is to secure political control of the public head—The Government.

2. Why do limiting the membership, trials for heresy, censorship, and attempts at discipline usually break up organizations and retard the growth of the party?
3. What are the rights of the minority in our ranks?
4. What is the danger from fusion?
5. Why can there be only two political parties as related to the economic class struggle?
6. What do you consider the only safeguard to doctrinal purity and party integrity?

Suggestion:—Your own experience and the history of your own organization should be your most reliable source of information in this discussion.

Special References:—Industrial Problems, (Part II, chap. 5, Richardson). American Socialism of the Present Day (chap. XIII, XIV and XV Hughan).

General Reference:—Socialism in Theory and Practice (Hilquit).

SOCIALISM THE ONLY HOPE. WHY?

Sub Topics:

1. Socialism Destined to Save Civilization.
2. International Socialism as a Political Force.
3. Socialist Vote of the World. See Campaign Book pp. 25-34.

Suggestions:—The chairman should read the following quotations and call for three five-minute discussions from among the members.

“There is no hope for the working class under this system. It must grow rapidly worse. Daily, organized capital becomes more firmly entrenched. Fortunately, organization of industry follows the great machine and organization of capital.”

“For ages the world has dreamed of economic justice. Not until Socialism came with its philosophy of human brotherhood was there hope for its realization. We base our faith on the fact that it brings hope to the people who need it, and because of their great need—it must come.”

“The collective ownership and the democratic operation of the natural resources and social utilities upon which the coming life and labor of the people depend.” we declare is the “supreme issue—the only possible solution—the only final relief—the only program worth while.”

“Compared to this everything else is unimportant.”

“Without this everything else is useless.”

“Henceforth Socialism is the supreme issue—the only way out.”

The chairman should read Exposition I and J from the Platform and open the meeting to a general discussion

Note: Care should be taken to select an experienced chairman on this occasion.

ORGANIZATION

Sub Topics:

1. The Branch
2. The County Organization.
3. The State Organization.
4. The National Organization.
5. The International Organization.

Questions:

1. How are the subdivisions of the organization related?
2. Name the principal offices of each subdivision.
3. Are any officers appointed?
4. Is the Socialist organization tyrannical?
5. Can a tyrannical organization be democratic?
6. Criticise our plan of organization.
7. Can any of the causes of the defects in the State and National organization be found in your branch?
8. How near does the membership of your branch represent the Socialist vote in your community?
9. What are you doing to increase the number of dues paying members?
10. Describe the political and economic organization of the Socialist state with regard to the plan of government and form of production and distribution.

Suggestion:—The discussion of this lesson should lead to the improvement of your own organization. Number ten should be assigned a week in advance to some member who is already able to distinguish between Socialism and Anarchism and can state clearly why he belongs to the Socialist Party rather than the Socialist Labor Party.

Special References:—Socialism (Spargo p. 227), Industrial Problems (Richardson), Socialist Party Constitutions, State and National.

General Reference:—Anarchism and Socialism (Plechanoff).

REVOLUTION—PRESENT DAY

Sub Topics:

1. The Non-Socialist Point of View.
2. The Socialists' Points of View.
 - (a) Revolutionary.
 - (b) Evolutionary.

Questions:

1. The non-Socialist point of view has been described in the familiar maxim: "Every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost." This is objected to by Socialists on the ground that it misrepresents the Devil. What do you think? Does the Devil take the hindmost?
2. Revolutionists regard Socialism from the point of view of a class that has no property—a strict proletariat. Does Marx justify this narrow view of the class struggle?
3. The Evolutionist studies Socialism from the point of view of all the people—the employer, the employee, the farmer, the business man, professional man, and all the rest. Is this view in accord with Marx and Engels?
4. Can there be "revolution" without "evolution"?
5. Is the evolutionist a revolutionist in a Socialist sense?
6. Which point of view appeals most to human interests? [cialists.
7. Distinguish between utopian and scientific So-
8. Define Syndicalism, Marxist, Revisionist, Christian Socialist, Proletarian, Intellectual and "polar" Socialist, right and left.
9. What is the attitude of the Socialist Party with regard to violence?

Suggestion:—It is hoped that this lesson will make it clear that the difference between the two wings of the Socialist Party is largely imaginary.

Special Reference:—Socialism of The Present Day, (chap. VII-IX Hughan).

General References:—Revolution and Counter Revolution (Marx), The Social Revolution (Kautsky), Twentieth Century Socialism (p. 243 Kelly).

THE SOCIALIST PLAN OF ATTACK

Sub Topics:

1. Co-operation.
2. The Labor Union.
 - (a) Strikes.
 - (b) Boycotts.
3. The Political Party.
 - (a) Petitions for Reform Measures.
 - (b) Demands for favorable Legislation.
 - (c) Acquiring Political Supremacy.
 - (d) Agitation, Organization, Education.
4. Ultimate Program.

Questions:

1. Describe the Co-operative.
2. Describe the attitude of the Socialist Party toward labor unions.
3. State the distinction between an industrial organization and a craft organization, and give examples of each.
4. Name three present forms of industrial organization.
5. Define: General strike; boycott; direct action.
6. Name and justify the immediate industrial and political demands in our National Platform.
7. What differences exist among Socialists with respect to immediate demands?
8. What are the Administrative, Social and Collectivist demands of Socialism?
9. What is meant by the ultimate program? Has any party, except the Socialist Party, such a program?
10. Write out and memorize your conception of the ultimate program of Socialism.

Suggestion:—A little study of this lesson will prepare one to answer many of the current criticisms of Socialism.

Special References:—Labor Union Socialism and Socialist Labor Unionism (Walling), Power and Weakness of Trade Unions (Collins), The Platform.

General Reference:—Socialism in Theory and Practice (Hilquit).

COMPETITION AND CO-OPERATION

Sub Topics:

1. The Competitive Principle in Nature.
2. The Co-operative Principle in Nature.
3. The Competitive Principle in Industry.
4. The Co-operative Principle in Industry.
5. The Value of Competition as a means of Progress.
6. The Value of Co-operation as a Means of Progress.
7. The Transition from Competition to Co-operation.
8. The Final Triumph of Co-operation.

Questions:

1. Is a man a social animal?
2. Is competition a permanent element in social life?
3. Is human selfishness decreasing?
4. Can a man be successful in business and be strictly honest?
5. Is competition consistent with the teachings of Christianity?
6. Will Socialism eliminate competition from industry?
7. Will Socialism eliminate competition from Nature?

Suggestion:—Ira Woods Howerth, of the University of California has classified competition as "Natural" and "Industrial". The discussion of this lesson should make that distinction clear to every Socialist and enable him to point out to our opponents that while solidarity of mankind means death to industrial competition it will give free play to natural competition.

Special References:—Campaign Book, Merrie England (Blatchford).

General Reference:—Work and Life (Howerth).

THE HIGH COST OF LIVING

The cost of living has increased 60 per cent. during this seventeen year period, while the average increase in wages has been only 20 per cent. That means that the standard of living has gone down just 25 per cent. in seventeen years.

When we consider the tremendous profits that must be earned by the people for watered stock, as well as for the trusts, the above fact explains itself.

The over-capitalization of our industries is estimated at \$30,000,000,000. The dividends and interest on that vast amount of inflated value is at least \$1,500,000,000. This is eighteen dollars (\$18) for every man, woman and child in the land.

From the twenty-third annual report of the Interstate Commerce Commission we learn that the railroads of the country in 1911, showed net earnings amounting to \$930,262,457. This means that about ten dollars (\$10) was exacted from every man, woman and child of our nation.

These profits are thefts pure and simple, though legalized. How much greater becomes this sum when one considers the profits of all the many other industries and trusts of our country.

Questions:

1. Explain what is meant by over-capitalization of public service enterprises?
2. What is meant by physical value?
3. The railroads take eight times as much toll from the people as is taken by the tariff. Why does Congress give its attention to the tariff rather than to the railroads?
4. How much does tariff have to do with the high cost of living?

Reference:—Business the Heart of the Nation, (chap. VIII, Russell.)

CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES

Sub Topics:

1. The Land.
 - (a) Amount (about 1,500,000 square miles arable).
 - (b) Quality.
2. Forests.
 - (a) The Lumber Industry.
 - (b) Wanton Destruction of Timber.
 - (c) The Present Timber Supply. (In 40 years the timber will be exhausted).
 - (d) Scientific Forestry.
3. Water Power.
4. Coal and Gas.

Questions:

1. What reform measures for conservation have been secured?
2. What do the Socialists advocate? [tent?]
3. Has Scientific forestry been practiced to any extent?
4. What is the area of the Pennsylvania anthracite coal fields? (496 square miles).
5. What per cent. of it is controlled by the railroad companies?
6. Name the mineral products of the United States.
7. "The natural resources of the earth have in all ages and in all countries, for a time at least, been squandered by man with a wanton disregard of the future, and are still being squandered whenever absolute necessity has not yet forced a more careful utilization." Discuss this.

Suggestions:—Read the planks in the Platform under "Collective Ownership". These planks are complete only when considered together, as a whole, and as such no party dares to copy them.

Special Reference:—Campaign Book (pp. 138-322.).

General References:—Land and Land Policy (George), Economics of Forestry (Fernow), Irrigation (Newell), The Anthracite Coal Industry (Roberts), Proceedings of Conference of Governors, 1908, Washington, D. C.

LANDLORDISM

Sub Topics:

1. Private Ownership of Land.
2. Tenantry.
3. Land Speculation.
4. Land as a Means of Exploitation.
5. Lands as a Means of Production.
6. The Socialist View of Land Values.
7. Mortgages on Farms.
8. Land Tax.
9. The New Feudalism.
10. The Farm Colony System.

Questions:

1. Is the private ownership of land condemned by the foremost thinkers of all time?
2. At what rate has tenantry increased in the last few years?
3. How many land speculators do you know? How long would it take you to convert one of them to Socialism?
4. Do any retired farmers belong to your branch? If so, are they an exception to the law of economic determinism?
5. Could the land problem be solved by means of a land tax?
6. Is the Landlordism of today a form of feudalism?
7. What are the Socialist arguments in favor of the farm colony system?
8. Is the tiller of the soil exploited more than the wage worker?

Suggestion:—Read plank five under Collective Ownership, to the branch and be sure that the official attitude of the Socialist Party on the land question is thoroughly understood.

Special References:—Socialism For the Farmer (Ameringer), Letters to an American Farmer (Lamb).

General References:—Twentieth Century Socialism, (pp. 262-286, Kelly), The American Farmer (Simons).

WAGES

Sub Topics:

1. The Iron Law of Wages.
2. The Labor Theory of Value.
3. The Relation of Wages and Profit.
4. Equality of Wages.

Questions:

1. State the iron law of wages.
2. What is the difference between the iron law of wages and the Marxian theory of value?
3. Is the tendency to substitute "relation of wages and profit" for the "theory of value" in harmony with the spirit of Marx?
4. Would the free play of the natural law of supply and demand adjust wages?
5. Is there a misdirected sentiment among Socialists in favor of equal pay for all kinds of work?

Note:—Equality of pay is Communism and not Socialism. Marx says: "The right of the producers is proportional to the amount of work they furnish; the equality consists in that the labor is measured by an equal standard."

Suggestion:—Confusion of Communism with Socialism is the greatest hindrance to our immediate progress. Special attention, therefore, should be given to remove the "equal pay error."

Special References:—American Socialism, (chap. VI, Hughan), Incentive Under Socialism (Atkinson).

General References:—The Co-operative Commonwealth, (pp. 107-8 Gronlund), What Socialists Think (N. E. C), Wages in the United States (Nearing).

LABOR ORGANIZATION

Sub Topics:

1. Knights of Labor.
2. The American Federation of Labor.
3. The Industrial Workers of the World.
4. The Future Outlook of Labor Organizations.
5. Objections to Organized Labor.
6. Benefits of Organized Labor.

Questions:

1. Compare organized labor in this country to organized labor in other countries.
2. Can you justify any of the objections offered against labor organizations?
3. Is labor organization responsible for the high cost of living?
4. Is it possible for organized labor to increase wages?
5. What is organized labor doing, now, to advance Socialism?
6. Is the psychology of labor organization any different from the psychology of Socialism? Explain.
7. What is the chief point of difference between the A. F. of L. and the I. W. W.?
8. Why are labor organizations urged to stay out of politics?
9. What is the official attitude of the Socialist Party to labor organizations?

Suggestions:—Read Exposition J, 1, to the branch; also the plank under, Unemployment. Is there any probability that the Progressives will steal this plank?

Special Reference:—Campaign Book, (pp. 184, 303-4, 331-41).

General References:—History of Socialism in the U. S. (Hilquit), Socialism in Theory and Practice (Hilquit), Capital and Labor (Harris).

THE INTRODUCTION OF MACHINERY

Sub Topics:

1. The Stages of Industry.
 - (a) The Handicraft Stage.
 - (b) The Manufacturing Stage.
 - (c) The Factory Stage.
2. Modern Machinery.
3. Modern Workingmen.

Questions:

1. Do the stages of industry overlap each other?
2. Economic development is marked by the downfall of the small producer. Explain the consequent effect upon the working class.
3. Show with what rapidity the class of propertyless proletarians are increasing today.
4. To what extent does machinery displace labor and rob men of a living?
5. Give several recent examples of laborers displaced by machinery.
6. How much of the labor displaced by machinery finds employment in making the machines?
7. Do the machines earn anything?
8. Shall we break the machines?

Suggestions:—The Chairman should read Exposition C, 1, 2, 3, from the Platform at the beginning of the discussion.

Special References:—Principles of Scientific Socialism (Vail), Men and Mules (Ries, pp. 6-8), Industrial Problems (Richardson).

General Reference:—Capital (Marx, part IV, chap. XV).

TRUSTS

Sub Topics:

1. The Nature, Purpose and Form of Trust.
2. Early History and Present Condition.
3. Effects of Trusts on the People.
4. The Money Trust.

Questions:

1. Discuss the following proposed measures for dealing with trusts: Suppression, dissolution, abolition of import duties, publicity, regulation of freight charges, regulation of prices and socialization of industry.
2. Outline a policy whereby the benefits from the trusts may be retained and the evils repressed.
3. What would be the final outcome if the trusts were let alone?
4. How do trusts effect the organization of labor?
5. How do trusts modify the character of strikes?
6. Are the trusts to be viewed as the outgrowth of evolutionary forces?

Suggestions:—The high degree of intelligence, organization, co-operation, efficiency and the approach of trusts to Socialism should be emphasized in the discussion.

Special References:—Campaign Book, Monkeys and Monkeyetts, (Ries, p. 58).

General References:—Trusts and Monopolies (Ely), The Control of Trusts (Clark), Trust Problems (Jenks), Twentieth Century Socialism (Kelly, pp. 159-76).

OLD AGE PENSIONS

Sub Topics:

1. Pensions in Germany.
2. Pensions in England.
3. Pensions in France.
4. Berger's Old Age Pension Bill.

Questions:

1. The State of Illinois has a mothers' pension law. Do you favor such a law?
2. What effect would the pension system have on the character of the individual?
3. Do the insurance companies favor the pension system? Why?
4. Is the pension system adopted by some of the corporations intended for the good of the workers?
5. Distinguish between official charity and the pension system.

Suggestions:—Read the ninth plank of the Platform under "Industrial Demands" and criticize it. Let the members vote for it or against it. An occasional vote on separate planks in the platform often arouses much interest.

Special References:—The Campaign Book. Berger's speech on "Old Age Pension."

General Reference:—History of Military Legislation in the United States (Glassan).

THE PRESS

Sub Topics:

1. The Evolution of Printing.
2. The Capitalist Press.
 - (a) Press Associations.
 - (b) News Service.
4. The Party Owned Press.

Questions:

1. What effect has printing had on social progress?
2. How does the ruling class control the capitalist press today?
3. Should the Socialist Party control the Socialist press?
4. Name several Socialist daily, weekly and monthly publications.
5. Are there too many Socialist papers?
6. How could we improve our news service?
7. Should Socialists read capitalist papers?

Suggestions:—If your organization has a press of its own, the discussion of this subject should lead to a renewed determination to increase its efficiency.

Special References:—Campaign Book, (p. 38), Business the Heart of the Nation (Russell, chap. V).

General References:—International Encyclopedia, The Invention of Printing (DeVinne), History of Printing in America (Thomas).

SPEECH AND ASSEMBLAGE

Sub Topics:

1. Freedom of Speech.
2. Cases of Privilege.
 - (a) Absolute Privilege.
 - (b) Conditional Privilege.
3. The Right to Assemble.

Questions:

1. Define freedom of speech. Ans. The liberty to utter and publish whatever one may choose without legal censure or punishment. The United States Constitution provides in the first amendment that Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press.
2. On what grounds do the authorities in many instances suppress free speech?
3. Is the right to assemble of any value without free speech?
4. Should there be laws against libel, obscene language, etc.?
5. Is there a tendency among Socialists to censor the speech of members?
6. What ground is there for the criticism that Socialism would destroy free speech?

Suggestions:—The first amendment of the U. S. Constitution should be read to the members and Socialist speakers should memorize it.

Special Reference:—Campaign Book, (pp. 235 and 281).

General Reference:—American Government (Hinsdale, p. 352).

36.
TAXES

Sub Topics:

1. Federal Taxes.
 - (a) Direct.
 - (b) Indirect.
2. State Tax
 - (a) General Property Tax.
 - (b) License of Fees.
3. Tax Reforms.
 - (a) Income and Inheritance Tax.
 - (b) Single Tax.

Questions:

1. Distinguish between direct or indirect tax and give examples of each.
2. Do Socialists favor the indirect tax?
3. Who pays the tax on real estate and commodities? The owners or the tenants and consumers?
4. Show how the indirect tax diminishes the purchasing power of the working class and lowers its standard of life.
5. Why do Socialists favor an income and inheritance tax?
6. Socialists do not agree with the economic premises on which the "Single Tax" is based. Explain.
7. Compare the views, aims and methods of the Single Taxer and the Socialist.

Suggestions:—Number seven should be assigned in advance to some one who has time to prepare an able comparison of the two theories.

Special References:—Campaign Book (p. 322), Platform, plank 5, under Collective Ownership, and plank 2, under Political Demands.

General References:—Single Tax vs. Socialism (Simons), Socialism in Theory and Practice (Hilquit, pp. 288-91).

37.
INVENTORS AND INVENTIONS

Sub Topics:

1. The Inventive Faculty.
2. Public Promotion and Rewards Under Socialism.
3. An Industrial Jury under Socialism.
4. Public Workshops and Laboratories.
5. Suppressed Inventions under Capitalism.
6. The United States Patent Laws.

Questions:

1. Can the inventive faculty be cultivated?
2. Would an industrial jury and a system of promotion and rewards, assuring substantial remuneration and public recognition encourage invention and scientific discovery?
3. Would public workshops and laboratories tend to stifle the individual incentive?
4. 65,839 applications for patents were filed in 1909. Is most manual labor unnecessary now?
5. Discuss the following statement: Ninety-nine times out of a hundred the infatuated inventor gives the best of his brains, his time and his money, to bring out his invention and then the business man steps in and appropriates whatever is to be made out of it.

Suggestions:—This lesson is intended to suggest the argument necessary to answer the question which is so often asked: "What will you do with the inventors under Socialism?"

References:—Incentive under Socialism (Atkinson), Resolved That We Disfranchise the Men and give Women the Ballot (Edelson).

ELECTIONS

Sub Topics:

1. The Importance of Elections.
2. Elections Conducted by State Authority.
3. Registration.
4. The Casting and Counting of the Ballots.
5. Advantages and Disadvantages of Secret Elections.
6. Bribery.
7. The Usefulness of Frequent Elections.

Questions:

1. To what extent does the Federal Government have authority over elections?
2. What are the purposes of registration?
3. Describe the method of casting and counting the ballots.
4. Will bribery exist under Socialism?
5. Should there be frequent elections?
6. Is there a corrupt practice act in force in this state?
7. Should candidates be compelled to give an account of their election expenses?
8. How may an election be contested?
9. To what extent are voting machines used and what is their probable effect on elections?

Suggestion:—A ballot used in the recent election and a copy of the State Constitution should be brought into the meeting for examination.

Special References:—The State Constitution, and any book on Civil Government.

General References:—Government by the People (Fuller), How We Are Governed (Daws).

WOMAN SUFFRAGE

Sub Topics:

1. The Status of Woman—Past and Present.
2. The Social Subjection of Woman.
3. The Emancipation of Woman.
 - (a) Social equality.
 - (b) Political equality.
 - (c) Industrial equality.
4. Woman and the Home.

Questions:

1. Is the elevation of woman a natural result of social evolution?
2. Are women more honest than men?
3. Are women mentally inferior to men?
4. Have women a natural right to vote?
5. Will woman suffrage hasten the progress of Socialism?
6. In what states do women have the franchise?

Suggestions:—A special effort should be made to get women to attend on this occasion and take part in the discussion.

Special References:—Socialism and the Home (Walden) Resolved that We Disfranchise the Men and Give Women the Ballot (Edelson), Campaign Book (pp. 63, 33, 43).

General References:—Woman in the Past, Present and Future (Bebel), Common Sense about Woman (Higginson), The Emancipation of Woman (Crepaz).

DIRECT LEGISLATION

Sub Topics:

1. Initiative, Referendum and Recall.
2. Abolition of the Senate.
3. Abolition of the Veto Power of the President.
4. Election of the President and Vice-President by direct vote.

Questions:

1. Define a democratic form of government.
2. Can Socialism be established by means of direct legislation?
3. Why do other parties advocate direct legislation?
4. Do Socialists advocate reform measures in order to catch votes?
5. How do reforms prepare for Socialism?
"We want the initiative, but we want more."
"We stand for the referendum, but insurance of not being out of work is of much more value."
"We agitate for the recall, but State help for orphans —at least for those who have no father—and assistance for working women during the period of child bearing, is infinitely more useful to the race than the right to recall a judge."—Campaign Book (p. 252).
6. Discuss the above quotations.

Suggestions:—There is a tendency on the part of ultra-revolutionists to denounce immediate demands rather than discuss them. It is hoped, however, that opposing views may be presented friendly and candidly with the view of each learning as much from the other as possible.

Special References:—Platform, Political Demands, planks 5, 6, 7. Campaign Book (pp. 5, 252, 282, 332).

General References:—Socialism in Theory and Practice (Hilquit, pp. 277-81), American Legislature and Legislative Methods (Reinsch).

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

Sub Topics:

1. The Methods of Application.
2. Representative Government.
3. Gerrymandering.

Questions:

1. Define the quota plan, block vote, cumulative system, and the single vote plan.
2. What are the rules governing apportionments in your State? Was the last apportionment fairly made?
3. How may representatives be made to reflect the opinion of the people?
4. After the national election of 1908, the house of representatives was composed of 219 Republicans and 172 Democrats. Under a system of proportional representation the house would have been composed of 202 Republicans, 168 Democrats, 11 Socialists, 7 Prohibitionists, 2 Independence Party, and 1 People's Party. Explain and give the arguments in favor of proportional representation.
5. Name the States and countries where proportional representation has been introduced.

Suggestions:—Some member should be assigned in advance to explain gerrymandering.

Special References:—Platform, Political Demands, plank 5; Socialism in Theory and practice (Hilquit).

General Reference:—Proportional Representation (Commons).

THE UNITED STATES SENATE

Sub Topics:

1. Number, Election and Term of Office.
2. Classes of Senators.
3. Purposes of the Senate.
4. The Bicameral Form of Legislation.

Questions:

1. Is the theory that each State should be equally represented in the Senate in accordance with Democracy?
2. Explain how senators are elected.
3. What is the Oregon plan of electing senators?
4. Is wealth a necessary qualification?
5. If senators were elected by direct vote instead of by State legislatures would we still demand the abolition of the Senate?
6. What are the advantages of the bicameral form of legislation?

Suggestions:—Discuss the idea that senators should be elected by direct vote by the various industries instead of by States. The senate would then reflect the interests of the workers in the industries while the representatives would continue to represent the political divisions; thus, both the industrial and political interests would be reflected through a bicameral form of legislation.

Special Reference:—United States Constitution, Art. I.

General References:—American Commonwealth (Bryce); The American Government (Hinsdale); Problems of Today (Ely).

THE PRESIDENT

Sub Topics:

1. The Election of the President.
2. The Powers and Duties of the President.
3. The President's Share in the Law Making.
4. Succession to the Presidency.
5. The President as a Political Personality.

Questions:

Examine the United States Constitution for answers to the following questions:

1. How is the President elected?
2. What are his qualifications as to residence, citizenship, and age?
3. In case of death of both President and Vice-President how is the office filled?
4. Can the President have his salary increased?
5. What is the President's salary?
6. What is the President's oath of office?
7. What are the powers and duties of the President?
8. Should the President be elected for a term of six years and be eligible for a second term?

Discuss this.

Suggestion:—Any school book on Civil Government will contain the information needed to prepare a discussion on this subject.

References:—The American Executive (Finley & Sanderson), This Country of Ours (Harrison), The Federalist, No. 68.

THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

Sub Topics:

1. The Constitutional Convention.
2. Departments Under the Constitution.
 - (a) Executive Department.
 - (b) Legislative Department.
 - (c) Judicial Department.
3. Authority and Purpose of the Constitution.
4. The Opponents of the Constitution.

Questions:

1. What events lead up to the Constitutional Convention?
2. Did the original opponents declare it to be a conspiracy as some of our agitators do?
3. Compare the views of Hamilton and Jefferson.
4. The Constitution is a method of government which represents ages of evolution. Because it is inadequate to meet the needs of our age, shall we denounce all governments?
5. Is a knowledge of government necessary to Socialism?
6. Why do some people become so bitter and violent in their denunciation of outgrown institutions and things?
7. Should we study the Constitution?

Suggestions:—Direct government of the primitive type would be as inadequate to meet the needs of society today as the crooked stick to till the soil and produce our food. Rules for the relation and communication of the members of a society must exist before a government of things for the welfare of society is possible.

References:—Constitution of the United States; Commentaries on the Constitution of the United States; Commentaries on the Constitution (Story); Critical period of American History (Fiske); History of the People of the United States (McMaster).

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Sub Topics:

1. The Bill of Rights.
2. The Twelfth Amendment.
3. The War Amendments.

Amendments to the Constitution may at any time be proposed in pursuance of a two-third vote in both houses of Congress, or by a convention called at the request of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the States. Amendments are not in force until ratified by three-fourths of the States, either through their Legislatures or through special conventions.

Questions:

1. Was it wise to make the Constitution difficult to amend?
2. Should the Amending Clause be amended now so as to make amendments less difficult?
3. Would you abolish the present Constitution or amend it?
4. Is it common for States to revise their Constitutions?
5. What is the attitude of the Socialist Party toward the Constitution?
6. Was the adoption of the XVth amendment a wise policy?

Suggestions:—Socialists, above all others should know the subject matter of every article in the United States Constitution.

References:—Constitution, Art. 5, and the Amendments. Platform, Political Demands, plank 9; Critical Period (Fisk pp. 218-20); American Commonwealth (Bryce).

ADMINISTRATION OF DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Sub Topics:

1. Government by Congress; Const. Art. I, Sec. 8, clause 17.
2. The City of Washington.
3. Congress a City Council.
4. Commission Form of Government.

Questions:

1. What is the size and location of the District of Columbia?
2. Is the District of Columbia a territory, dependency, or a municipal corporation?
3. Describe its form of Government.
4. What is the Socialist attitude toward the commission form of city government?
5. From what source does the District of Columbia get its revenue?
6. Should the seat of national government be more centrally located?
7. What is the attitude of the Socialist Party toward the commission form of government?

Suggestions:—Socialists should study, keep their feet on the ground, keep their heads cool, and keep their eyes on Washington, D. C.

References:—American Government (Hinsdale, pp. 230-32); Actual Government (Hart, pp. 124, 334, 335).

TERRITORIES AND DEPENDENCIES

Sub Topics:

1. On the American Continent.
 - (a) Indian Reservations and National Parks.
 - (b) Alaska.
 - (c) The Panama Canal Strip.
2. Insular Territories and Dependencies.
 - (a) Hawaii.
 - (b) Porto Rico.
 - (c) Philippine Islands.
 - (d) Gaum and Samoa.
3. United States Government of Territories and Dependencies.

Questions:

1. Distinguish between a territory and a dependency.
2. How are our territories and dependencies governed?
3. How are territories admitted as states?
4. Should the insular territories be admitted as states? Would you give the inhabitants the franchise?
5. Describe the government and the method of conducting enterprises in the Canal Strip. Does this in any way demonstrate the practicability of Socialism?
6. What is the policy of the government toward insular dependencies?

Suggestions:—This lesson should enlarge the view of the present functions of the government. A map should be brought to the meeting and every possible effort made to present the subject clear to those who have been deprived of a school education.

References:—Civil Government (Fisk, p. 263); Actual Government (Hart, pp. 344-46); The Public Dominions (Donaldson); Reports of the Philippine Commission, 1900, 1901, 1902.

Note:—Any common school United States History or Civil Government will give the needed information on the above subject.

THE SOCIALIST AIM IN EDUCATION

Sub Topics:

1. Social Progress and the Educational Factor
2. The Education of the Individual.
3. Education a Socializing Process.
4. The Education of Society.

Questions:

1. If the ruling class should hold a convention and officially yield to the people every demand in our platform, would the present degree of social intelligence be sufficient to maintain Socialism?
2. Can Socialism precede social education?
3. Is there enough knowledge in existence now to solve our social ills?
4. Is it the conscious aim of the ruling class to keep the working class in ignorance?
5. Is it important to elect Socialist school officials and employ Socialist school teachers?

Suggestions:—The Socialist Party should adopt a working class course of study for our local political and economic organizations, and employ competent teachers in order that we may socialize education and thereby attain to Socialism.

Special Reference:—Campaign Book, pp. 7, 222, 225, 283, 322, 345.

General References:—The Social Aim in Education (Howerth); Education and Society (Dewey); Dynamic Sociology (Ward, vol. II, chap. 14); Education and Heredity (Guyn).

PUBLIC HEALTH

Sub Topics:

1. Physiology and Hygiene.
2. Measures to Preserve and Protect Public Health
 - (a) Pure food laws.
 - (b) Inspection and quarantine laws.
 - (c) Free medical service.
 - (d) Establishment of public baths, gymnasiums, etc.
3. Scientific Dietetics.
4. The Professional Doctor and Patent Medicines.
5. Independent Bureau of Health.

Questions:

1. Is a knowledge of the physiological laws of sex essential to public health?
2. Is there a State Board of Health in this State? How is it chosen? What are some of its powers?
3. Is there a local board of health in your city? How is it chosen? What is it doing for the public health?
4. To what extent do laws prevent adulteration of food?
5. Are public measures to preserve and protect health responsible for the high cost of living?
6. Do more children die for the want of milk than get tuberculosis from milk?
7. Are we justified in calling the average doctor a "misery merchant"?
8. Quarantine laws are for the protection of society against the diseased individual. Should the individual be protected against a diseased society?

Suggestions:—The greatest obstacle in the way of public health and scientific development of human beings, excepting profit, is ignorance, prudery and false modesty.

References:—Campaign Book, p. 88; Platform, Political Demands, plank 13; How to Live One Hundred Years (Lockwood).

50.

THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND LABOR

Sub Topics:

1. Foreign and Domestic Commerce.
2. Mining and Manufacturing.
3. Shipping and Fishing.
4. Labor.
5. Transportation.

This Department was created in 1903 and has charge of the census statistics, immigration, steam-boat inspection, geodetic survey, and light houses.

Questions:

1. Who is the present Secretary of Commerce and Labor?
2. To which of the executive departments would you take a claim for pensions? A request for a passport in foreign countries? An application for a patent? An application for admission to the Academy at West Point? A request for a sample of a new kind of seed? An application for a position in the life saving service? A complaint of ill treatment in foreign land? A request for a copyright? An application for service as an architect?
3. Name the executive departments.
4. Prepare a ten minute speech on the Socialist demand for an independent department of labor.
5. How could you secure a position as a stenographer in the federal service?

Suggestions:—This department is elected as a subject because of its relation to the labor question. Its duty is to foster and promote the subjects named above as sub topics.

References:—Report of the Civil Service Commission; The American Executive (Finley and Sanderson); The National Administration of the United States (Fairlie); Industrial Evolution of the United States (Wright).

51.

EQUALITY

Sub Topics:

1. Civil and Political Equality.
2. Artificial Social and Economic Inequality.
3. The Inequalities of Nature.
4. The Declaration of Independence.
5. The Demand of Modern Socialism.

Questions:

1. Is there such a thing as natural equality?
2. What do you mean by civil and political equality?
3. Will civil and political equality insure social and economic equality?
4. What are some of the forms of artificial inequality? e. g. caste, wage slavery, etc.
5. What are some of the evil effects of artificial inequality?
6. Is the Social inequality of the Negro and Chinaman a necessary part of the true Socialist ideal?
7. Should there be a social intellectual aristocracy?

Suggestions:—“Possible equality—substantial spiritual, civil, and political equality, and the abolition of artificial social and economic inequalities, thus giving larger equality of opportunity,”—Howerth.

References:—Equality (Bellamy); Inequality and Progress (Harris); Social Justice (Willoughby); Social Equality (Mallock).

HOME RULE AND MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP

Sub Topics:

1. City Government.
2. Legislative Interference.
3. Municipal Functions.
4. Natural Monopolies.
5. Franchise.
6. Advantages of Municipal Ownership.

Questions:

1. What are the economic reasons for the location and growth of your city?
2. Name your city officers. How are they chosen? For what term? What are their salaries?
3. What are the usual administrative departments of a city government?
4. What relation exists between your city and state government? Would home rule be desirable?
5. How are the water, lighting, and street car plants managed? What kind of street pavements are used?
6. Is the sewage and garbage properly disposed of?
7. Prepare a ten minute paper on franchises.
8. What are the most pressing problems in your city? To what extent is the Socialist organization a factor in the administration of its affairs? Can you elect Socialist officials at the next election?
9. Prepare an ordinance that you think would be beneficial; also a municipal program to meet the approval of Socialists.

Suggestions:—Socialists should make a special study of city government in order to make the success of city victories the best possible propaganda.

Special References:—Campaign Book, pp. 6, 285, 291, 322-27; Heads and Hands (Ries, p. 37).

General References:—American Commonwealth (Bryce); City Government in the United States (Conkling); The Study of City Government (Wilcox); Municipal Reform Movements (Tolman); Municipal Reform in the United States (Devlin); Municipal Government in Europe (Shaw); City Government in the United States (Goodnow); The City, The Hope of Democracy (Howe).

SOCIALIST PLATFORM

Adopted at the National Socialist Convention, May 12-13, 1912

Exposition

A.

The Socialist Party of the United States declares that the capitalist system has outgrown its historical function, and has become utterly incapable of meeting the problems now confronting society. We denounce this outgrown system as incompetent and corrupt and the source of unspeakable misery and suffering to the whole working class.

B.

Under this system the industrial equipment of the nation has passed into the absolute control of a plutocracy which exacts an annual tribute of billions of dollars from the producers. Unaframed of any organized resistance, it stretches out its greedy hands over the still undeveloped resources of the nation—the land, the mines, the forests and the water powers of every state in the union.

C.

1. In spite of the multiplication of labor-saving machines and improved methods in industry which cheapen the cost of production, the share of the producers grows ever less, and the prices of all the necessities of life steadily increase. The boasted prosperity of this nation is for the owning class alone. To the rest it means only greater hardship and misery. The high cost of living is felt in every home. Millions of wage workers have seen the purchasing power of their wages decrease until life has become a desperate battle for mere existence.

2. Multitudes of unemployed walk the streets of our cities or trudge from state to state awaiting the will of the masters to move the wheels of industry.

3. The farmers in every state are plundered by the increasing prices exacted for tools and machinery and by extortionate rents, freight rates and storage charges.

4. Capitalist concentration is mercilessly crushing the class of small business men and driving its members into the ranks of propertyless wage workers. The overwhelming majority of the people of America are being forced under the yoke of bondage by this soulless industrial despotism.

5. It is this capitalist system that is responsible for the

increasing burden of armaments, the poverty, slums, child labor, most of the insanity, crime and prostitution, and much of the disease that afflicts mankind.

6. Under this system the working class is exposed to poisonous conditions, to frightful and needless perils to life and limb, is walled around with court decisions, injunctions and unjust laws, and is preyed upon incessantly for the benefit of the controlling oligarchy of wealth. Under it also, the children of the working class are doomed to ignorance, drudging toil and darkened lives.

D.

1. In the face of these evils, so manifest that all thoughtful observers are appalled at them, the legislative representatives of the Republican and Democratic parties remain the faithful servants of the oppressors. Measures designed to secure to the wage earners of this nation as humane and just treatment as is already enjoyed by the wage earners of all other civilized nations have been smothered in committee without debate, and laws ostensibly designed to bring relief to the farmers and general consumers are juggled and transformed into instruments for the exaction of further tribute.

2. The growing unrest under oppression has driven these two old parties to the enactment of a variety of regulative measures, none of which has limited in any appreciable degree, the powers of the plutocracy, and some of which have been perverted into means for increasing that power. Anti-trust laws, railroad restrictions and regulations, with the prosecutions, indictments and investigations based upon such legislation, have proved to be utterly futile and ridiculous.

3. Nor has this plutocracy been seriously restrained or even threatened by any Republican or Democratic executive. It has continued to grow in power and insolence alike under the administration of Cleveland, McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft.

E.

In addition to this legislative juggling and this executive connivance, the courts of America have sanctioned and strengthened the hold of this plutocracy as the Dred Scott and other decisions strengthened the slave power before the Civil War. They have constantly been used as instruments for the oppression of the working class and for the suppression of free speech and free assemblage.

F.

We declare, therefore, that the longer sufferance of these conditions is impossible, and we purpose to end it all. We declare them to be the product of the present system in

which industry is carried on for private greed, instead of for the welfare of society. We declare, furthermore, that for these evils there will be and can be no remedy and no substantial relief except through Socialism, under which industry will be carried on for the common good and every worker receive the full social value of the wealth he creates.

G.

1. Society is divided into warring groups and classes, based upon material interests. Fundamentally, this struggle is a conflict between the two main classes, one of which, the capitalist class, owns the means of production, and the other, the working class, must use these means of production on terms dictated by the owners.

2. The capitalist class, though few in numbers, absolutely controls the government—legislative, executive and judicial. This class owns the machinery of gathering and disseminating news through its organized press. It subsidizes seats of learning—the colleges and schools—and even religious and moral agencies. It has also the added prestige which established customs give to any order of society, right or wrong.

3. The working class, which includes all those who are forced to work for a living, whether by hand or brain, in shop, mine, or on the soil, vastly outnumbers the capitalist class. Lacking effective organization and class solidarity, this class is unable to enforce its will. Given such class solidarity and effective organization, the workers will have the power to make all laws and control all industry in their own interest.

H.

All political parties are the expression of economic class interests. All other parties than the Socialist Party represent one or another group of the ruling capitalist class. Their political conflicts merely reflect superficial rivalries between competing capitalist groups. However they result, these conflicts have no issue of real value to the workers. Whether the Democrats or Republicans win politically, it is the capitalist class that is victorious economically.

I.

The Socialist Party is the political expression of the economic interests of the workers. Its defeats have been their defeats and its victories their victories. It is a party founded on the science and laws of social development. It proposes that, since all social necessities today are socially produced, the means of their production and distribution shall be socially owned and democratically controlled.

J.

1. In the face of the economic and political aggressions of the capitalist class the only reliance left the workers is that of their economic organizations and their political power. By the intelligent and class-conscious use of these, they may resist successfully the capitalist class, break the fetters of wage slavery and fit themselves for the future society, which is to displace the capitalist system. The Socialist Party appreciates the full significance of class organization and urges the wage earners, the working farmers and all other useful workers everywhere to organize for economic and political action, and we pledge ourselves to support the toilers of the fields as well as those in the shops, factories and mines of the nation in their struggle for economic justice.

2. In the defeat or victory of the working class party in this new struggle for freedom lies the defeat or triumph of the common people of all economic groups, as well as the failure or the triumph of popular government. Thus the Socialist Party is the party of the present-day revolution, which marks the transition from economic individualism to Socialism, from wage slavery to free co-operation, from capitalist oligarchy to industrial democracy.

WORKING PROGRAM

As measures calculated to strengthen the working class in its fight for the realization of its ultimate aim, the Cooperative Commonwealth, and to increase its power of resistance against capitalist oppression, we advocate and pledge ourselves and our elected officers to the following program:

Collective Ownership

1. The collective ownership and democratic management of railroads, wire and wireless telegraphs and telephones, express services, steamboat lines and all other social means of transportation and communication and of all large scale industries.

2. The immediate acquirement by the municipalities, the states or the federal government of all grain elevators, stock yards, storage warehouses, and other distributing agencies, in order to reduce the present extortiorate cost of living.

3. The extension of the public domain to include mines, quarries, oil wells, forests and water power.

4. The further conservation and development of natural resources for the use and benefit of all the people:

- (a) By scientific forestation and timber protection.
- (b) By the reclamation of arid and swamp tracts.

(c) By storage of flood waters and the utilization of water power.

(d) By the stoppage of the present extravagant waste of the soil and of the products of mines and oil wells.

(e) By the development of highway and waterway systems.

5. The collective ownership of land wherever practicable, and in cases where such ownership is impracticable, the appropriation by taxation of the annual rental value of all land held for speculation or exploitation.

6. The collective ownership and democratic management of the banking and currency system.

7. The abolition of the monopoly ownership of patents and the substitution of collective ownership, with direct rewards to inventors by premiums or royalties.

Unemployment

The immediate government relief of the unemployed by the extension of all useful public works. All persons employed on such works to be engaged directly by the government under a workday of not more than eight hours and at not less than the prevailing union wages. The government also to establish employment bureaus; to lend money to states and municipalities without interest for the purpose of carrying on public works, and to take such other measures within its power as will lessen the widespread misery of the workers caused by the misrule of the capitalist class.

Industrial Demands

The conservation of human resources, particularly of the lives and well-being of the workers and their families:

1. By shortening the workday in keeping with the increased productiveness of machinery.

2. By securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.

3. By securing a more effective inspection of workshops, factories and mines.

4. By forbidding the employment of children under sixteen years of age.

5. By abolishing the brutal exploitation of convicts under the contract system and substituting the co-operative organization of industries in penitentiaries and workshops, for the benefit of convicts and their dependents.

6. By forbidding the interstate transportation of the products of child labor, of convict labor and of all uninspected factories and mines.

7. By abolishing the profit system in government work, and substituting either the direct hire of labor or the awarding of contracts to co-operative groups of workers.

8. By establishing minimum wage scales.

9. By abolishing official charity and substituting a non-contributory system of old-age pensions, a general system of insurance by the state of all its members against unemployment, illness and invalidism and a system of compulsory insurance by employers of their workers, without cost to the latter, against industrial diseases, accidents and death.

Political Demands

1. The absolute freedom of press, speech and assemblage.

2. The adoption of a graduated income tax, the increase of the rates of the present corporation tax and the extension of inheritance taxes, graduated in proportion to the value of the estate and to nearness of kin—the proceeds of these taxes to be employed in the socialization of industry.

3. Unrestricted and equal suffrage for men and women.

4. The adoption of the initiative, referendum and recall and of proportional representation, nationality as well as locally.

5. The abolition of the Senate and of the veto power of the President.

6. The election of the President and the Vice-President by direct vote of the people.

7. The abolition of the power usurped by the Supreme Court of the United States to pass upon the constitutionality of the legislation enacted by Congress. National laws to be repealed only by act of Congress or by a referendum vote of the whole people.

8. The abolition of the present restrictions upon the amendment of the constitution, so that that instrument may be made amendable by a majority of the voters in a majority of the states.

9. The granting of the right of suffrage in the District of Columbia with representation in Congress and a democratic form of municipal government for purely local affairs.

10. The extension of democratic government to all United States territory.

11. The enactment of further measures for general education and particularly for vocational education in useful pursuits. The bureau of education to be made a department.

12. The enactment of further measures for the conservation of health. The creation of an independent bureau

of health, with such restrictions as will secure the full liberty of all schools of practice.

13. The separation of the present bureau of labor from the department of commerce and labor and its elevation to the rank of a department.

14. Abolition of all Federal District Courts and the United States Circuit Courts of Appeals. State courts to have jurisdiction in all cases arising between citizens of the several states and foreign corporations. The election of all judges for short terms.

15. The immediate curbing of the power of the courts to issue injunctions.

16. The free administration of justice.

17. The calling of a convention for the revision of the Constitution of the United States.

Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of socialized industry and thus come to their rightful inheritance.

WHAT SOCIALISTS STAND FOR

Socialists, like social reformers, recognize the existence of serious evils in society. While the social reformer, however, accounts for these evils by various causes, and attempts to destroy them one by one, the Socialist ascribes them chiefly to one cause—the present economic organization of society.

This economic system puts all the principal means of production and distribution into the control of a small portion of the people—the capitalists—under conditions which virtually compel them to use their power in ways prejudicial to the interests of the rest of the people. The workers receive in wages only a portion of the value their labor creates, while the remainder goes to the capitalists as rent, interest, and profit. This keeps the workers in poverty, deprives them of true liberty, and prevents their full physical, mental and spiritual development. Competition among capitalists and among working people and the antagonism of interest between capitalist and working classes result in economic oppression, political corruption, strife among individuals, struggles between classes, and wars between nations.

Socialists hold that to abolish these evils society must take possession of the socially used means of production and distribution, managing them democratically for the benefit of the entire people. They regard this as the inevitable outcome of the evolution which society is now undergoing, and they strive to hasten this evolution and guide it in peaceful channels by educational propaganda and by economic and political organization.

Since the older political parties have repeatedly ignored the interest of the workers and are openly supported by the beneficiaries of the capitalist system, Socialists hold that nothing is to be hoped for from these parties, but that it is necessary to build up an independent party of the working class, with the aid of all earnest opponents of capitalism.

As a means to the improvement of the conditions of labor, the strengthening of real democracy, and the ultimate inauguration of the Co-operative Commonwealth, this Socialist Party works for certain immediate demands, among which are: Shortening of the workday, abolition of child labor, insurance of workers against sickness and old age, compensation for industrial accidents, and public relief for the unemployed; woman suffrage, initiative and referendum and right of recall; progressive income and inheritance tax, and collective ownership of railways, telegraphs, mines, and other great monop-

olies. Yet it regards these and similar reforms only as a means to the end.

Socialists emphasize the **recognition of the actual facts of the class struggle**—the identity of the fundamental interests among working people and the fundamental antagonism between the economic interests of the capitalist and working classes. Only through the recognition of these facts and the victory of the workers in this struggle can the struggle itself be ended.

With the inauguration of the Co-operative Commonwealth, however, the causes of social discord will disappear, mutual aid will take the place of struggle among individuals and between classes and nations, and a spirit of **brotherhood will result from the harmony of social interests**, permitting man to develop each as best he can, for his own happiness and the welfare of the whole.—Jessie Wallace Hughan.

THE SOCIALIST DEFIANCE

We scorn your language of philanthropy. We resent your advocacy of reforms for the protection of the poor, as if a thief should offer to restore to us a miserable pittance if we will only leave him undisturbed in the enjoyment of his stolen goods.

Your measures toward the reduction of the hours of labor, the increase of pay, and the protection of women and children are as futile to satisfy our demands, as husks to quiet the cravings of a hungry man, or the lengthening of a chain to tame a lion.

We receive and hold what grounds we gain only that our battle may be more vigorously pushed.

It is not lawlessness with which we confront you. It is logic; and, we challenge you to strike the sinews of our power, not with the sword but with the keen edge of reason. Prove to the people whose cause we champion, if you can, that we are blind guides and have mistaken the way.

You may disperse roughs and ruffians with your clubs, but neither clubs nor rifles can destroy the justice of our plea. Our logic is invulnerable and lies beyond the range of your shot and shell. You may imprison us and we will defy you; hang us and we will be martyrs to our cause.

Your filching profit system cannot stand against our theory of history and our system of pure economics. We defy you to discredit our doctrine with a semblance of reason or a grain of truth. Your system is outworn and condemned and while we carry our message of justice and evolution you can do nothing, except erect your own scaffolds and dig your own graves.—The Social Educator.

